MONICA DUFFY TOFT

Associate Professor of Public Policy
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John F. Kennedy School of Government
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EDUCATION

The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Ph.D. in Political Science, December 1998, Dissertation Title: *The Geography of Ethnic Conflict*
M.A. in Political Science, 1992
University of California, Santa Barbara, California
B.A. in Political Science and Slavic Languages and Literature, 1990, *Summa Cum Laude*

University of Maryland, European Division, Augsburg, Germany
A.A. General Curriculum, 1987
Defense Language Institute, U.S. Army, San Antonio, Texas
Russian basic course, 1984, with highest honors

EMPLOYMENT

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
• Associate Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, July 2004–present
• Director, Initiative on Religion in International Affairs, July 2007–present
• Assistant Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, July 1999–June 2004
• Assistant Director, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, July 1999–June 2006

Courses:
- Civil Wars: Theory and Policy
- Ph.D. Field Seminar in Security Studies
- International Security and International Political Economy
- Intervention and Peacekeeping
- Religion in Global Politics
- Sex and War

Dean's award for excellence in teaching

Committees and boards:
- Board member, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs
- Faculty associate, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Hauser Center for Non-Profit Organizations, Center for International Development, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Center for the Study of World Religions, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs
- Advisory committee, Boston Consortium on Gender, Security, and Human Rights
- Faculty advisor, Institute of Politics—Foreign Policy Group, National Resource Center
- Faculty member, Standing Committee on Higher Degrees in Public Policy
- Faculty chair, Seminars on Future of War, Political Violence, and Religion and Politics
- Faculty member, Ph.D. in Public Policy Admissions Committee, (Chair 2007–2010)
- Steering committee, Women and Public Policy Program

The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
• B.A. Preceptor, Department of Political Science, September 1997–June 1998
• Preceptor, Committee on International Relations, September 1994–August 1996
Administered a Master's degree program consisting of fifty students
• Program Coordinator, Program on International Politics, Economics and Security, July 1993–July 1995
Coordinated a weekly seminar devoted to theoretical and policy issues in international relations
• Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, October 1992–March 1995
Courses: Strategy with John Mearsheimer, Spring 1994 and Winter 1995; Origins of Modern War with Stephen Walt, Winter 1992 and Autumn 1993; Introduction to International Relations with Charles Lipson, Autumn 1992; and Comparative Economic Diplomacy with Daniel Verdier, Winter 1993

Marvin Zonis + Associates, Inc., Chicago, Illinois, Senior Research Associate, March 1992–June 1998
Researched and consulted on current economic, political, and social issues in the former Soviet Union for an international consulting firm

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Intern, June 1994–September 1994
Researched alternative Russian domestic and foreign policies and their implications for the West

U.S. Army, Electronic warfare, signal intelligence voice interceptor, July 1983–July 1987
Honorably discharged
Russian language qualified
Achieved the rank of Sergeant (E-5, entered as Private E-1)
Top secret, special intelligence security clearance
Awards: US Army Commendation Medal, US Army Achievement Medal, and US Army Good Conduct Medal

AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND GRANTS

• Fulbright Scholar, Norway, 2012–2013
• Religious Freedom Project Scholar, Georgetown University, 2010–2013
• Religion and International Relations Working Group Scholar, Notre Dame University, 2010–2012
• Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, Visiting Scholar, July–August 2010
• Carnegie Scholar, The Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2008
• Henry Luce Foundation, Inc., The Henry R. Luce Initiative on Religion and International Affairs, Principal Investigator, "Religion and International Affairs: The Intersection of Policy and Scholarship," 2007–2010
• Smith-Richardson Foundation, Inc., Principal Investigator, "Religion and Global Politics", 2007–2010
• Weatherhead Center Distinguished Faculty Research Associate, Harvard University, 2004–2005
• Davis Center Junior Faculty Research Fellow, Harvard University, 2004–2005
• Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Junior Faculty Development Grant recipient, 2004-2005

- Smith-Richardson Foundation Junior Faculty Research Fellow, 2002–2003
- Smith-Richardson Foundation and the Weatherhead Initiative Fund grant principal researcher, "Religion and Global Politics," 2002–2006
- Dissertation nominated for the American Political Science Association's Helen Dwight Reid Dissertation Award, 2000
- Department of Defense grant, Principal Investigator, organizer, and editor of a volume on inter-war military and strategic planning, 1999. Additional funding granted by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2000
- Olin Postdoctoral Fellow, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1998–1999
- International Security Policy Fellowship, Program on International Security Policy, Smith-Richardson Foundation, 1997–1998
- Peace Scholar Fellowship, United States Institute of Peace, Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, 1996–1997
- University of Chicago Fellowship, 1990–1995
- Mellon Dissertation Fellowship, June 1993
- MacArthur Foundation Research Grant, August 1992
- Mensa Society Scholarship, June 1992
- City Club Award for outstanding scholarship, June 1990
- Phi Beta Kappa, junior year, June 1988

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS

God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics, co-authored with Daniel Philpott and Timothy Samuel Shah, (Norton, 2011).

Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars, (Princeton, 2010).

The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory, (Princeton, 2003).

Faith as Reason: The Role of Religion and Nationalism in Political Violence, in progress.

EDITED VOLUMES

Rethinking Religion and World Affairs, co-edited with Timothy S. Shah and Alfred C. Stepan, (Oxford, 2012).

Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politics, co-edited with Jack Goldstone and Eric Kaufmann, (Paradigm, 2012).

The Fog of Peace and War Planning: Military and Strategic Planning under Uncertainty, co-edited with Talbot Imlay, (Routledge, 2006).

REFEREED ARTICLES

"Punishment and Denial in the North Caucasus: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Coercive Counterinsurgency" with Yuri Zhukov, *Journal of Peace Research*, forthcoming 2012.

"Self-Determination, Secession and Civil War," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, forthcoming Summer 2012.

"Demography and National Security: Population Shifts in Israel and the Implications for Policy," *International Area Studies Review,* forthcoming March 2012.

"Correspondence on "Ending Civil Wars? A Case for Rebel Victory,"" *International Security*, Summer 2011.

"Ending Civil Wars? A Case for Rebel Victory," *International Security,* Spring 2010.

"Promises and Pitfalls in the Spatial Prediction of Ethnic Violence: A Comment," co-authored with Nils B. Wiedmann, *Conflict Management and Peace Science,* 2009.

"Dynamics of Self-Determination," with Stephen Saideman, *Peace and Conflict 2010,* Paradigm, *2009*.

"Power Shifts and Civil War: A Test of Power Transition Theory," *International Interactions,* Vol. 33, No. 3 (July-September 2007).

"Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007).

"The Myth of the Borderless World: Refugees and Repatriation Policy," *Conflict Management and Peace Science,* Vol. 24 (2007).

"Religion, Civil War, and International Order," Belfer Center Discussion Paper, August 2006.

"Issue Divisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," *Security Studies,* Vol. 15, No. 1 (January-March 2006).

"The State of the Field: Demography and War," *ECSP Report,* Issue 11, 2005.

"Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *Security Studies*, Winter 2002/03.

"Differential Demographic Growth in Multinational States: The Case of Israel's Two-Front War," *Review of International Affairs*, Fall 2002.

"Multinationality, Regions and State-Building: The Failed Transition in Georgia," *Regional and Federal Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn 2001).

"The 1994 Russian Federal Budget Debate: Issues and Implications," RAND Corporation, Policy Memorandum, September 1994.

"Adoption as an Issue of Local Justice," with David P. McIntyre, *Archives Européennes de sociologie*, Spring 1992.

NON-REFEREED ARTICLES, POLICY PAPERS, AND BOOK REVIEWS

"Religion and Civil Conflict," Concept Paper for the World Bank's annual world development report, *Conflict, Security and Development, 2011*.

"A Review of the Academic Literature on Self-Determination" Paper prepared for the Political Instability Task Force, June 2010.

"War in Sudan and the Prospects for Peace," Paper prepared for the Political Instability Task Force, June 2010.

"Commentary" on Benjamin Miller's "States, Nations and Regional War," *Ethnopolitics*, 2009.

"Nasty, Brutish and Long," *Prospect*, May 2009.

"Russia's Recipe for Empire," *Foreign Policy* online, September 2008.

"Why God is Winning," with Timothy Samuel Shah, *Foreign Policy*, July-August 2006.

"Review: Potentials of Disorder, Jan Koehler and Christopher Zurcher, eds." *Slavic Review*, Spring 2005.

"Review: The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance, Karen Ballentine, et al. eds," *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 2004.

"Review: War and Reconciliation, William J. Long and Peter Brecke," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Winter 2003.

"Review: The Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict, Volumes 1-3, Lester Kurtz, editor," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Fall 2000).

"Review: The Dynamics of Secession, Viva Ona Bartkus," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 115, No. 1 (Spring 2000).

"Review: Church, Nation and State in Russia and Ukraine, Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, editors*," Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 24 (Spring 1996).

"Review: The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society, Geoffrey Hosking, editor," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 24 (Spring 1996).

BOOK CHAPTERS

"Religion in International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford, forthcoming 2012).

"Religion and Violence*,"* in *Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford, forthcoming 2012).

"Religion, Terrorism and Civil War," in *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, Monica Duffy Toft, Timothy S. Shah and Alfred C. Stepan, eds. (Oxford, 2012).

"Introduction," co-authored with Timothy Samuel Shah and Alfred Stepan in *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, edited by Monica Duffy Toft, Timothy S. Shah and Alfred C. Stepan, eds., (Oxford, 2012).

"Wombfare: The Religious Basis of Fertility Politics," in *Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*, Monica Duffy Toft, Jack Goldstone and Eric Kaufmann, eds. (Paradigm 2012).

"Introduction," co-authored with Eric Kaufmann in *Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politic*, Monica Duffy Toft, Jack Goldstone and Eric Kaufmann, eds. (Paradigm 2012).

"Religion, Rationality and Violence," in *Religion and International Relation*s, Jack Snyder, ed. (Columbia, 2011).

"God and the Global Resurgence of Religion," co-authored with Timothy Samuel Shah, in Paul Marshall ed. *Blind Spot: Religious Illiteracy and the Media* (Oxford, 2009).

"The Origins of Ethnic Wars: A Historical and Critical Account," in Manus Midlarsky, ed. *Handbook of War Studies III* (University of Michigan Press, 2009).

"The Fog of Peace," co-authored with Talbot Imlay in *The Fog of Peace and War Planning*, Monica Duffy Toft and Talbot Imlay, eds. (Routledge, 2006).

"Understanding Fogs of Peace," co-authored with Talbot Imlay in *The Fog of Peace and War Planning*, Monica Duffy Toft and Talbot Imlay, eds. (Routledge, 2006).

"Ajaria" in the *World Book*, 2006.

"Ossetia" in the *World Book*, 2006.

"Two-way Mirror Nationalism: The Case of Ajaria," in Moshe Gammer, ed. *The Caspian Region: Vol II, The Caucasus* (Routledge, 2002).

"Multinationality, Regions and State-Building: The Failed Transition in Georgia," in James Hughes and Gwendolyn Sasse, eds., *Ethnicity and Territory in the Former Soviet Union* (Frank Cass, 2001).

ARTICLES IN PROGRESS

"Biology and Territoriality," with Dominic Johnson, revise and resubmit at *International Organization* (resubmitted January 2012*).*

"From Faith to Freedom: The Role of Religious Actors in Global Democratic Progress," co-authored with Daniel Philpott and Timothy Samuel Shah, under review with *Perspectives on Politics*.

"Repression or Containment: An Empirical Assessment of Competing Counterinsurgency Strategies" with Yuri Zhukov, under review with the *American Political Science Review*.

CONFERENCE AND WORKING PAPERS

"Religious Actors and Democratization," co-authored with Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 2011.

"Contagion and Diffusion of Violence in the Caucasus," co-authored with Yuri Zhukov, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 2011.

"Differential Population Dynamics, Inequality and Political Violence in India," co-authored with Erika Forsberg, Gudrun Ostby, and Henrik Urdal, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 2011.

"Explaining the Global Resurgence of Religion," paper presented at the Beijing Forum, Beijing, China, November 4–7, 2010.

"Time in International Relations Theory: The Missing Dimension," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2010.

"Religious Violence in the Caucasus: Local Grievance or Global Jihad?" with Yuri Zhukov, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February 2010.

"Demography, Power Transition Theory, and Israel," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, February 2009.

"Demography and Security: The Case of Israel," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 2008.

"Taming Religion in Global Politics," with Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah, paper at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, March 2008.

"Religion, Demography and War," paper presented at the Religion and Violence Symposium, Webster University, St. Louis, Missouri, October 2007.

"God and Global Politics," with Timothy Shah, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 29–September 1, 2007.

"Demographic Shifts and Security Policy: The Case of Israel," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 29-September 1, 2007.

"Demography and War," keynote speech and paper presented at the Demography Conference, Association for the Study of Nationalities, London, September 2006.

"Biology and Rationality: The Evolution of Territorial Violence," (with Dominic Johnson and Richard Wrangham), paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2006.

"Peace through Security: How to Make Negotiated Settlements Stick," paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, March 2006.

"An End to Victory?" paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, March 2-6, 2005.

"Demographic Transitions and Civil War," paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, March 2-6, 2005

"An End to Victory?" paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 2004.

"Demographic Transitions and Civil War," paper presented at the Transitions Conference, Carmel, California, August 20–22, 2004.

"Civil War Termination: Past and Present," paper presented at the Sixth Annual Human Rights Week, International Relations Council of Harvard College, March 16, 2004.

"Evolution of the International System and the Role of Civil Wars" paper presented at the International Criminal Law Regimes Workshop," Washington, D.C., February 25-26, 2004.

"Peace through Victory?" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 27–31, 2003.

"Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 27–31, 2003.

"Chechnya: A Local War Meets Global Politics," Paper presented at the Chechnia and its Russian Problem symposium, Ohio State University, Mershon Center, May 9, 2003.

"The Demographic Death of States," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 28–September 1, 2002.

"Indivisible Territory and Ethnic War," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Working Paper, December 2001.

"Repatriation of Refugees: A Failing Policy?" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31–September 2, 2000.

"Regionalism in Georgia," 50th Annual Political Science Association Conference, London, April 10–13, 2000.

"Internal and External Causes of Ethnic Conflict," 38th Annual International Affairs Symposium, Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon, April 3–5, 2000.

"Settlement Patterns, Territory, and Ethnic Conflict," paper presented at U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and State Department, Societal Issues Group, Office of Transnational Issues Conference, "Anticipating Ethnic Conflict: Framing the Analysis," Washington D.C., June 24, 1999.

"Stability and Justice for All: The Dilemma of Intervention in Civil Wars," with Ivan Arreguín-Toft, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, September 2–5, 1999.

"Two-Way Mirror Nationalism: The Case of Ajaria," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, New York, April 15–17, 1999.

"Ethnic Violence and the Case of Ajaria," paper presented at Watson Institute for International Studies Conference, "Preventing Ethnic Violence: Cases of the Former Soviet Union," Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, April 13–14, 1999.

"The Role of Territory in Bargaining between Nations and States: Double Value in Tatarstan, Chechnia, Abkhazia, and Ajaria." paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September 3–6, 1998.

"An Analysis of Settlement Patterns and Ethnic Conflict: With Statistics and Evidence from Chechnia and Tatarstan," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, New York, April 16–18, 1998.

"Nations, States, and Violent Ethnic Conflict: Territory as Subject and Object," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 27–30, 1997.

"The Geography of Ethnic Conflict: Do Settlement Patterns Matter?" paper presented at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 18–20, 1996.

PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEES, ASSOCIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

• Ph.D. Committees

Harvard University: Dorina Bekoe (now at United States Institute of Peace); Jennifer Bulkeley (now at U.S. Defense Department); Judith Kelley (now at Duke); Jeremy Weinstein (now at Stanford); Fotini Christia (now at MIT); Yuhki Tajima (now at University of California, Riverside); Tatsuya Nishida (now at Hiroshima City University); Janet Lewis (in progress, at Yale on fellowship); Jeffrey Friedman (in progress); Yuri Zhukov (in progress); Walt Cooper (in progress, at West Point); Nils Hagerdal (in progress)

Boston University: Hope Lozano Bilat (in progress) and Jeffrey Edmonds (in progress)

• Professional Memberships: American Political Science Association, Central Eurasian Studies Society, Council on Foreign Relations term member 2000-2005 (co-Chair for Boston program 2003–2005) and life member 2006–, International Studies Association, Minorities at Risk Advisory Board, Peace Science Society (International), Member of Women in International Security, Social Science Research Council's Religion and International Affairs Advisory Board, and the Notre Dame/Mellon Working Group on Religion and International Relations.

• Serve as a member for the Political Instability Task Force and consultant for the Political Islam Strategic Analysis Program, and for the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the State Department.

• Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Geopolitics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Security Dialogue*, *World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, Routledge Publishers, the National Science Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, Social Science Research Council, the Swedish Research Council, the University of Oslo and Johns Hopkins University (PhD oppositions), and the AXA Fund (EU research competitions) and United States Institute of Peace fellowship competitions.

• Proficient in Russian; can read French and Spanish, some German.

• Consulted on civil war, religion and global politics, international terrorism, war in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Iraq, Israel and Lebanon for radio (British Broadcasting Corporation, The World, CBS Radio, National Public Radio, All Things Considered), television (Fox, CNN), and print media, and on Iraq, ethnic conflict, religion and global affairs and civil war. Have traveled extensively and lived abroad for extended periods of time (China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Israel, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Ukraine).

- Opinion Editorials in: *The Australian; Boston Globe; Christian Science Monitor; Dallas Morning News; Huffington Post* (regular invited contributor to the religion blog*); International Herald Tribune* and *Washington Post*.